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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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WOMEN TO THE RESCUE!

Oh, it's woman this, and woman that, and "Woman cannot fight!"
But it's "Ministering Angel!" when the wounded come in sight.

[*From a Poem by Laurence Housman, published in* VOTES FOR WOMEN, *Dec. 31, 1909.*

[The Daily Press, which have been making little of women's services during the years in which women have been agitating for the vote, now with one accord makes a strong appeal to them, speaking in the highest terms of their value. A typical sentence is that from the *Daily Telegraph* leading article, as follows:—"Men may not understand the hearts of women in times of joy, but they are very sure of them in times of trouble. They know them now—tender, loving, true, and firm as steel."]

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The shock of war and the menace of universal calamity has welded the nation into one great fellowship. Within the ranks of nationality, feuds and rivalries have been swept aside. Emerging from the heavy clouds that have covered the sky can be seen a new vision of a society founded upon mutual sympathy.

Two Great Events

Signs of this spirit of reconciliation are evidenced in two events of the week, to which we are glad to be able to give prominence. The first is the determination of women of all shades of opinion to sink their own differences, to lay aside their antagonism to male-made government, and to unite wholeheartedly in rendering service to the nation in its hour of need. The second is the announced decision of Mr. McKenna to release unconditionally all suffrage prisoners.

True Patriotism

Both of these acts are dictated by the spirit of true patriotism. In neither case has any bargain been struck. The women have not made it a condition that their claim to citizenship shall be conceded, Mr. McKenna has not extracted a pledge from the militants that revolutionary actions shall cease. Nevertheless we hope that in both cases generosity will be met with an equally generous response, and that just as women of all sections will now vie with one another in their services to the community, so Parliament will at the earliest possible opportunity enfranchise the women of the country.

Women at Work

We give an account on page 692 of the activities of various women's organisations, which show that no time has been lost in getting to work. One of the most important bodies which has been formed is the Women's Emergency Corps, the idea of which originated with Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Eva Moore, and Miss Gertrude Kingston, and which now has its headquarters at the Little Theatre, Adelphi. This organisation is busy enrolling the names of thousands of women who are volunteering for services of all kinds, including such different duties as the care of crèches and kindergarten, the handling of motor cars and horses, the distribution of stores, and the work

of interpreters and clerks. Our readers will be interested to know that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is a member of the Executive Committee.

The Suffrage Societies

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has formed an organisation of its own, and has opened offices in Whitehall, where it proposes to "mobilise 50,000 women," consisting of its own members and other volunteers. The Women's Freedom League, the New Constitutional Society, and the Tax Resistance League are working in touch with the Emergency Corps, and the plans of the other suffrage societies will be announced in due course.

Women Unemployed

We are glad to see that the Women's Emergency Corps and other women's organisations are offering a determined resistance to the suggestion that the voluntary services of women should be turned on to making garments for the soldiers and sailors. If this were to be done it would mean that the unemployment among working women, already assuming threatening proportions, would be artificially increased. Another matter which requires the vigilance of women is that the schemes put forward by the Government for providing employment are at present solely directed to the case of men. These must be supplemented by other proposals for women.

The Release of Suffrage Prisoners

The announcement of Mr. McKenna of his intention to release all suffrage prisoners unconditionally was made in the House of Commons on Monday last, in reply to a question from Mr. Whyte. On the previous Friday, in reply to Mr. Touche, he had declared his willingness to release any suffrage prisoners who would give an undertaking "not to commit further crimes or outrages." The wiser and more generous decision was brought about no doubt in consequence of widespread representations which were made to Mr. McKenna on all sides from men and women, a great many of whom are not themselves supporters of revolutionary tactics, and some of whom are even opposed to the granting of the suffrage to women.

Remand Prisoners Still Detained

As we go to press we learn that the prisoners on remand awaiting trial, Miss Annie Bell in Holloway, and other women in Ireland, have not yet been released, and that a doubt is being expressed by the authorities as to their position. We trust that no technical difficulty of this kind will be allowed to stand in the way of the immediate fulfilment of the obvious intention of the Home Secretary.

Contents of this Issue

Next Sunday is the ninety-fifth anniversary of the battle of Peterloo, when men and women were cut down and wounded by the British soldiery for attempting to hold a meeting in the neighbourhood of Manchester to demand political reform; we are therefore printing a special article dealing with this subject in this issue from the pen of Mr. Joseph Clayton. Mr. Laurence Housman contributes a powerful article dealing with the so-called protection of women, and compares it with the protection offered to the country of Belgium. Mr. Shallard contributes a second article on the part played by women in war.

Future of the Paper

As already announced in these columns, the present issue of Votes for Women is the last which is being produced under the auspices of the present Editors, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The paper passes now into the control of the United Suffragists, who will bring out the next and all succeeding issues. At the same time, the Votes for Women Fellowship in Great Britain and Ireland is being brought to an end, and a report covering the twenty months of its existence will be found on page 696. A special message from the present Editors is published as a leading article on page 694.

TWO PRODIGALS

They speak of Her as one who died in youth;
Her name is mentioned seldom in the home;
She sinned against the honour of their house,
And so they turned Her forth, and bade Her roam
Where'er she willed, but never more return.
Their doors are closed, and none may know or tell
What fate was Hers, or where she is to-day—
Her only crime, that she had loved too well!

And He—her kinsman—sits beside their hearth
Who sowed wild oats in youth, and now is classed
To-day among revered and honoured folks;
The reckless folly he has known is passed.
Perchance just one or two who victims fell
To His desires live yet to curse the day
They heard His name—but He is nobly wed,
And every Sunday goes to church to pray!

Marguerite Sanders.

London, '14.

THE BULLY AS "PROTECTOR"

By Laurence Housman

Woman is "the protected sex." But, unlike the criminal and the lunatic, she has to be "protected," not against herself, but against man! One part of the male sex is nobly prepared to protect her—"on terms" which she is warned to accept, because another part of the male sex is ever ready to impose on her far worse terms of a rapacious and uncivilised character.

In polite circles, the man who undertakes to provide for the woman, on certain terms which satisfy his sense of possession, is called her "protector"; in other circles the man who undertakes to let the woman provide for him on certain terms which satisfy *his* sense of possession, is called her "bully." It is the more honest term of the two. For let it not be supposed that the "bully" does not provide some measure of protection in return for the earnings of prostitution which she brings him. His fists are at her service; he is there round the corner to see to it that she is not "welshed" by her casual employers. Occasionally he may even secure, by threat of violence or of blackmail, a considerable rise in her rate of pay, of which, naturally, having secured it for her, he takes the larger share. In these, and various other ways, the "bully" affords "protection" to the woman of his choice; but we call him her "bully" none the less.

The "protector," on the other hand, has no difficulty with his conscience in accepting the woman's surrender of herself because she may be driven into offering it against her will by force of hard circumstances, by sweating conditions, unequal wages, fewer facilities for training for employment or for independence. The fist which drives her into his keeping may not happen to be his own; it may be the fist of custom, of economics, of the conventional double-standard of morality; but he accepts its working none the less, and profits by it. And he may equally profit by it for the forming of a regular as well as of an irregular connection. He may quite as readily secure her to himself for the "holy alliance of matrimony" by such kind of compulsion as for another sort of alliance with no pretence of holiness about it. Protection accorded on compulsory terms in regard to which the protected is not a free agent must always have about it an element of bullying. The argument which lays it down, "If you will not accept my protection it shall be the worse for you," strips the protector of his pretended virtue and reveals him, as he really is, a bully, out to possess himself of the liberty of others.

Now, the real aim of civilisation, within the peaceful organisation and unity of the State, is to remove that conditional threat from all sections of the community; to see to it that, irrespective of the extra physical force possessed by certain individuals, there shall be equal liberty and equal opportunity for all. That liberty, that opportunity, will of course be badly used in some cases, and well used in others. But the State and its operations are there at least as a corrective to the tendency of the physically strong to say, "Because I am stronger than you, you shall not have the same right to enter here, or here, in the industrial world; you shall not have the same right to compete with others for the full and free employment of your faculties that I have. You, being the weaker, shall be artificially kept from having an equal voice with me in deciding the conditions which govern your life and industry."

The True Social Idea

Where that is asserted by the physically strong against the physically weak, the true social idea has not penetrated. And where it is prevalent the State is the weaker and not the stronger for it. Only when their political instinct has taught men that free and equal conditions and opportunity for all are a source of strength to the whole body politic, shall we be rid of that bullying in disguise which masquerades to-day under the word "Protection," and performs its "Danse Macabre" more especially over the bodies and lives of women.

Because men, on terms imposed by themselves, offer a sort of protection to women from other men, therefore women are not to have an equal voice in the concerns of State! That is the anti-suffrage argument; and we are not to count it weakened, apparently, by the fact that a good deal more "protection" is offered and pretended than is actually secured.

Men may talk of protecting women, and may really intend it; but they cannot guarantee that protection under our man-made conditions of society, and especially not when it comes to war. The civil condition of society, which, to some, makes men's guarantee of protection to women seem plausible, occasionally breaks down—largely because of man's pugnacious mismanagement of the economic problem between nation and nation; and when it does his pretence to protect his women stands exposed to ghastly ridicule. Yet it is on this very ground, where the breakdown is most manifest, that the anti-suffragist takes his firmest stand, and, shutting his eyes to facts, declares that woman must not have a voice in the councils of the State, because it is man who protects her in war.

The Case of Belgium

Let us, for a moment, transfer the argument from the "protected" woman to the "protected" nation—the nation which, being smaller and weaker than others (but occupying a position essential to their political well-being), has its integrity and neutrality "guaranteed" by the larger Powers surrounding it. Is such a country, for that reason, to have no part in the council of nations? Has Belgium no ground for thinking that in any European conference dealing with the international problem her voice should be heard?

For three-quarters of a century Belgium's neutrality, integrity, and independence had been "guaranteed" to her by four of the greatest Powers on earth. By that guarantee she was assured that her alliance in war would not be sought, nor her territory violated. To-day, with a fresh offer of "protection," one of those great Powers violates her territory, promising her at the same time, on certain terms, a future independence and a resumption of her integrity now violated, entirely dependent on that particular Power emerging victorious from the struggle. Germany offers a problematical protection which she cannot honestly guarantee, which cannot in any case preserve Belgium from becoming once again the battle-field of Europe, and may, in certain events, lead to the entire overthrow of her independence when the war is done.

On paper, and by the Law of Nations, Belgium yesterday was living a sheltered and a protected life. To-day she is paying the heaviest price in a quarrel which is not her own, and one which she did nothing to provoke, yet from which no course of action could have rendered her immune. Her position in the European situation, both during peace and during war, is very similar to that of women, whom men, while failing to keep safe from harm, still claim to control as "the protected sex." And if our anti-suffrage opponents can, with the facts before them, make out any case why in the councils of Europe the voice of Belgium, the weak, the guaranteed, and the "protected" nation, should not be heard—(because, forsooth, it had been pre-arranged that she was not to be called on to take any part in war or compelled into any alliance!)—if they can make out a tenable case for the one proposition, it may help them by analogy to make out a case for the other.

But Belgium, as a protected nation, is not to-day a hopeful text to go upon. And if the war news that presently reaches this country is truthful and complete, then, if we study it well, we shall not talk very loudly, as perhaps some of us have done in the past, of women as "the protected sex."

To-day the fact stands out too prominently that under our male conduct of the world's affairs protection becomes too often the one-sided bargain of the bully, who protects "at his own time and in his own way"—and for his own ends. He offers his protection, that is to say, on precisely the same grounds as a few years ago Mr. Lloyd George, in speaking to the Welsh women, offered his patronage to Women's Suffrage.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

Further Subscription List up to July 31st, 1914

Final List

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged ...	2,208	9	7
Mrs. Edward C. Hartshorne	0	4	0
Mrs. Christie ...	0	10	0
Miss M. Brown—Extra on Votes	0	1	4
Miss Brown—Extra on Votes	0	0	7
Literature ...	1	15	1
Wickets ...	0	9	6
	£2,209	1	1

AUGUST 16, 1819.

The Peterloo Massacre

By Joseph Clayton

Parliamentary Reform was still an open question amongst the Whigs (who feared, above all else, the break up of their party) in the years of distress that followed the great War; but the Radicals, split into various groups as is the way with revolutionary reformers, were alert, and Cobbett, Sir Francis Burdett, Major Cartwright, and Henry Hunt—popularly called "Orator" Hunt—were, in their respective ways, leaders of the reform movement.

It was "Orator" Hunt who was called upon to preside at the mass meeting in St. Peter's fields, Manchester, on Monday, August 16, 1819, and who paid the penalty for his daring by a heavy sentence of imprisonment. "Peterloo" is in the centre of the city now, where Oxford Road, Mosley Street, and Peter Street join—hard by St. Peter's Church, and within a short distance of the Central Station and Albert Square. But it was open country a hundred years ago, and Manchester and neighbouring towns had been placarded with bills announcing that a meeting would be held in the fields on August 16 for the purpose of petitioning for Parliamentary Reform.

Neither the Government nor the local magistrates prohibited the meeting, and no word was uttered by the authorities to suggest that such a meeting would be interfered with. Huge demonstrations of a similar character had taken place quite peacefully at Leeds, and in nearly all the manufacturing towns.

So on that Black Monday, August 16, a vast multitude came to the fields by St. Peter's Church in Manchester. A little before noon the first body of reformers arrived—with banners and caps of liberty. An hour later, and processions were still entering, two clubs of "Female Reformers," each 150 strong, being conspicuous; for the working women of Lancashire, and of Blackburn, in especial, were heart and soul in the agitation for the Parliamentary franchise—a hundred years ago. In an entirely orderly fashion came the people to those fields. Their banners were inscribed with such phrases as "Annual Parliaments," "Universal Suffrage," "Vote by Ballot," "No Corn Laws," and the devices were not strange or treasonable. Altogether, some 80,000 persons were on that field of Peterloo when, early in the afternoon, "Orator" Hunt and his friends mounted the cart which served for a platform.

The Arrival of the Yeomanry

Hunt had only time to open the meeting with a few words when suddenly a troop of mounted soldiers, the Lancashire Yeomanry, rode up to the outskirts of the crowd. Hunt at once called out that this was only a trick to disturb the meeting, and told the people not to come into conflict with the military. Many, to show their goodwill, then cheered the Yeomanry.

It was said afterwards that at this point a magistrate read the Riot Act from a window in one of the houses that were near the fields, and ordered the people to disperse. But no one saw or heard anything of the kind, and the crowd was too closely packed to move quickly. Then the military—with drawn sabres—began forcing their way to the platform, and the people, taken by surprise, fell back. When the platform was reached a warrant was produced for Hunt's arrest, and the "Orator" at once submitted, and was carried off the field.

So far but little hurt had been done, but now a yeomanry officer gave the word, "Have at their flags," and immediately panic and disorder followed. The people—entirely unarmed—fled in all directions, the yeomanry lost all command of temper, and sabred and trampled down the fugitives. A few stones were thrown, but organised resistance was impossible. To the streets near the fields those who could fled for safety, and carried with them the wounded. Between three and four hundred were badly hurt, and many, women with children mostly, died before nightfall of their injuries.

Within a quarter of an hour of Hunt's arrest the ground was empty, while the yeomanry still pursued and sabred what stragglers they could find in the streets.

This was the "massacre" of Peterloo, and thus was August 16, 1819, made memorable in the annals of the age-long fight for political freedom.

On the following day the local magistrates met, and after declaring the military training, then practised by the reformers in certain manufacturing towns, illegal, solemnly thanked the troops for their bloody work, and expressed particular gratification "at the extreme forbearance exercised by the yeomanry when insulted and defied by the rioters!"

On behalf of the Government, Lord Sidmouth also hastened to express his thanks, and to convey at the same time the special thanks of the Prince Regent—about to ascend the throne as George IV. The thanks of that magistracy, and of the wretched royal profligate who ranks amongst the basest of all our Kings of England, was an entirely fitting reward for the murder committed by the Lancashire Yeomanry.

To bring these murderers to justice was impossible, for the juries at the coroner's inquests on the victims of the "massacre" simply found a verdict of "accidental death" or of "died by the pressure of the military under the civil power," or—in the cast of an infant—"died by a fall from his mother's arms."

But all over the country protests went up, and addresses were voted by the Common Council of the City of London, and by several town councils for an enquiry. However, as only very few people had votes, Parliament and the Prince Regent could afford to ignore the protests and refuse the enquiry.

A Monstrous Sentence

Hunt was charged with "high treason" on the warrant for his arrest, but the Government dropped this charge at once, and brought the "Orator" to trial, with half a dozen of his supporters, on the lesser charge of conspiracy. Hunt, who, with all his faults, had plenty of courage, fought the case personally at the assizes, but on the evidence of the mottoes on the banners, and of alleged threats that he would have Reform, a verdict of "guilty" was brought in against him; and in spite of an appeal to the King's Bench against a verdict obviously unjust—for there was really not a shred of evidence of any seditious conspiracy—a sentence of two and a half years in Dorchester Gaol was passed.

Hunt carried on the fight in prison, and not only secured the dismissal of his corrupt gaoler during the two years and a half he lay in Dorchester, but continued to write. And his "Memoirs," which were printed, and may be found in the British Museum, are excellent reading for the light they throw on the times.

A NEW KIND OF MILITANCY

By T. O'Meara

As I write, the harbour town in which I live is listening, listening, in strained expectancy, for a sign from over the grey, empty sea. There is no mafficking here; we leave that to cheerful young hooligans in the security of inland city streets; but there is a great deal of quiet preparation, and an enthusiasm which beggars description. I have not observed any disposition on the part of the male population to send their women into a position of complete safety out of the sound of gun-fire, remaining to await whatever may come themselves; and I can imagine how such a suggestion would be received by the ladies.

Yesterday a small passenger ship attempted to leave the harbour without first displaying the official signal, and got a couple of shots across her bows to teach her better manners. At once the streets were filled with excited people, rushing, not into their cellars for safety, but down to the harbour side to see the fun, and this is what they would have done had it been the German fleet in earnest. And foremost amongst them ran the women, of all ages and all classes, together.

It has been my lot within the last few days to question two working women, one young and one the mother of a grown family, as to their readiness to join in active nursing service in a certain contingency. They are under no illusion as to the probable duties required of them; they have had no lessons in drawing-room patriotism; and are both as sanely unemotional as working women usually are; yet I think I shall never forget their delight at this glorious chance of the most appalling labour under the most appalling conditions, with no fame nor glory, nor pretty uniforms to sweeten it.

We are Prepared

For we have to be prepared, you see, to receive at any moment an unknown, incalculable number of human wrecks, now strong, healthy, happy men, and every one of them "somebody's boy." Within the next few hours they may be battered and blasted out of all recognition; and for what? . . . Because of the selfish incompetence of a few block-headed diplomatists in a distant country of which we know nothing, and in which we take only the mildest interest, because of certain fetishes set up by the rich money changers in our temples and piously designated national prosperity; because of the monstrous conceit and swelled head of a neighbouring nation which prides itself (no doubt with cause) upon the supreme masculinity of its government.

For these reasons, and for no high ideals of reform and service, we must expect to see Europe plunged into a welter of battle, murder, and sudden death, plague, pestilence, and famine, law and order at an end, property valued at a feather's weight, and rich and poor together sliding helplessly down into a financial calamity, the end of which none as yet dares to contemplate. And yet I have heard no whisper of prison and torture for those who have incited their followers to this violence; nor has any official suggested an all-round confiscation of funds before further mischief can be done.

Well, values have changed within the past few days; oh, enormously they have changed! And one wonders whether, after all, our victory, the women's victory, may not be won by militancy on a scale before unheard of. . . . One wonders, when the impending storm dies down at last, who will have the incredible impertinence to stand up and say to us: "No, still you are unfit to stand beside us in peace, though you may do so in peril; we refuse to acknowledge your existence as fellow-citizens of the Empire, though in the hour of need it is from you that the Empire demands the heaviest of sacrifices."

For, already, there are thousands upon thousands of women suffering misery and heart-tearing anxiety and actual privation, and their sufferings are only beginning; whatever the end may be, they will have the jackal's share of the spoils of victory, the kicks without the ha'pence. Yet when they ask for the commonest rights of British subjects will they be told to comfort themselves with their sheltered position, safe and warm under the wing of a strong man's chivalry? Or will that ludicrous lie die at last on the lips of him that tries to utter it?

WOMEN AT WORK

Formation of a Women's Emergency Corps—Activity of the Various Suffrage Societies — Work of Women as Nurses — Canadian Offers of Help

It is only a week since, at the great women's meeting in Kingsway Hall, the various speakers who dwelt on the misery that war must surely bring, urged that women's next work must be to devise widespread and practical schemes for helping the destitute, the women and children sacrificed to a blind folly. Miss Macarthur hinted at a scheme for linking up all the channels by which help now reaches the poor, from the schools for mothers, the crèches, and clubs, to municipal relief works. It was only by some such co-ordinated scheme she said that waste could be prevented and all the necessitous cases reached. That was only a week ago, and to-day nearly all the Suffragists are hard at work, and all the women's societies for ameliorative work are collecting information and formulating plans, laying solid foundations for a great work that will not be quickly finished.

WOMEN'S EMERGENCY CORPS

One of the first organisations to come into being was the Women's Emergency Corps, which had its first offices in the building occupied by the Actresses' Franchise League, the Women's Freedom League, and the Tax Resisters, and had the encouragement of these and other societies, though it does not identify itself with the suffrage movement. Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Gertrude Kingston, Miss Eva Moore, and Miss Decima Moore, practical women all, were the prime movers, and their idea was to establish a register of women qualified to help in a dozen different directions, so that those wanting efficient help would know at once where to obtain it. It has now its headquarters at the Little Theatre, Adelphi. Among the members of committee is Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, co-editor of this paper.

2,000 Women Already Enrolled

In four days they have placed on their books the names of two thousand women who will undertake to drive motor-cars, to ride or drive horses, and to take entire charge of the horses and stables if need be, to take care of crèches, of kindergartens, to cook, to sew, to act as clerks, distribute stores, speak several foreign languages, or serve in any other way they can suggest. The response to the appeal for help has been very encouraging, and the most interesting women have come forward, ready to help in a humble way if they have no special qualification.

The committee have quite a number of women chauffeurs, one of the finest riders in England has offered her services, the number of women who can speak half-a-dozen or more languages has already been a surprise to those who believed English people could not be linguists, and it may be said these girls are already in demand, while others have filled unusual appointments. Anti-suffragists as well as members of nearly all the suffrage societies are enrolled here, and women of every class.

THE NATIONAL UNION

"Mobilisation of 50,000 women" is the legend on the big show window at 50, Parliament Street, Whitehall, where the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies have established their offices for relief work. Their idea is very similar to that of the Emergency Corps. They have also established a register, but perhaps are rather specialising in regard to nurses, and they themselves are also initiating various schemes of relief.

They have workrooms at the central offices, where members do such work as they have time for, and they are interesting themselves especially in children who are in need of hospitality—children, for instance, from the coast towns which are at present living under a strain of expectation, and they are doing all they can to help homeless, stranded girls. The five hundred branches of the National Union scattered throughout the country will do similar work, in conjunction with the municipal authorities.

THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE

The International Women Suffrage Alliance is devoting its attention to the foreign women stranded in London. It regards itself as the English representative of twenty-six different countries, and will probably turn its offices into a temporary club for members of any of those nations, but at first its main work is the befriending of the German women who find themselves here as "alien enemies," as the police form says. The Alliance has called a meeting of all societies that befriend foreigners to discuss some scheme of relief, and it is also proposing to turn its headquarters into a temporary club for foreign women in London.

THE Y.W.C.A.

One of the most elaborately organised societies in England is the Young Women's Christian Association, which will have an enormous work to do through its international office in caring for the young foreign girls stranded in London, and through its national office in safeguarding as far as possible the thousands of young English girls who are certain within the next few weeks to find themselves out of employment or on half salary.

The first thing to be done is to provide these girls with homes, and already many hostels connected with the Y.W.C.A., or within its reach, are considering how to meet the emergency. The Government authorities have been very grateful for the help that the Y.W.C.A. has already offered them in dealing with a very difficult question, and the American Consulate is sending to the headquarters in Hanover Square all the forlorn German girls who come to them in distress.

Plans for helping the necessitous English girls are not yet fully formulated, but the Association will develop its employment department, will try to find work for girls, and advise them where to look for employment, and will also probably establish at headquarters workrooms and inexpensive dining-rooms.

In all parts of England the branches of the Y.W.C.A. will work in conjunction with the Local Government Board, trying as all the women's organisations are doing, to avoid overlapping, and to secure through carefully collected information and well-directed effort, to secure the maximum of efficiency.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

The International Franchise Club is calling a meeting of its members for next week to discuss means by which the Club may render itself of special service at this crisis.

The New Constitutional Suffrage Society is affiliating with the Women's Emergency Corps, and its members are registering there. It is also undertaking as its special branch of work the help of girls thrown out of employment through the war. It will turn its large hall into a workroom and employ girls there; it will discourage any attempt at doing voluntary work which will deprive girls of paid employment, and it will try to get in touch with ladies who may also be in temporary difficulties through the war and find some way of helping them.

The Women's Freedom League have passed a resolution definitely throwing in their lot with the Women's Emergency Corps.

The women Liberals are abandoning their autumn political campaign and devoting themselves to serving the local committees of relief which are being set up in every district.

HOSPITAL SHIP FROM WOMEN OF CANADA

The following telegrams have passed between the Duchess of Connaught and the First Lord of the Admiralty:—

"Women of Canada anxious to offer hospital ship to British Navy. Before starting fund, anxious to know whether such offer would be acceptable.—Louise Margaret Duchess of Connaught."

"Board of Admiralty respectfully thank your Royal Highness for gracious message, and beg that their deep appreciation of the offer made by the women of Canada, which they gratefully accept, may be made known. — Winston Churchill."

WOMEN AS HARVESTERS

M. Viviani, the French Premier, has issued an appeal to the women of France to take up the work that has been laid down by the men who have had to go to the front.

He asks them to do the field work that is now necessary in order that a good harvest may be assured for the provisioning of France while their husbands, sons, and brothers are defending their country.

In the Alpine districts and in the small villages in Switzerland the women, old and young, aided by old men, are gathering in the crops slowly, even small children helping, as all the male population have disappeared to join their army. Old women "experts" may be seen cutting the hay. Both the grain and fruit crops are very good in Switzerland this year.

As Tram Conductors

In Russia women are replacing the men in factories and acting as house-porters and tram-conductors.

As Soldiers

In Switzerland it is said women are offering to serve as soldiers; many of the women are splendid rifle shots.

In the Canton of Aargau it is reported that two young women in uniform, with their hair cut off, tried to be enrolled, but forgot the fact that they had to undergo a medical examination, which ordeal they refused to face. How they obtained their uniforms and arms is not yet known. In the streets, trains, and cafés you can often hear the phrase from Swiss women, "I don't mind going to war and fighting. My husband has gone; what can I do alone?"

WOMEN NURSES GETTING READY

There has never been a time when so great a demand would be made by England on her womenfolk to help her soldiers and sailors, and there was never a time when the girl with even a partial knowledge of nursing could render so much help as now. There have been great changes since the experience of the South African War, and the tendency has been to increase the responsibility and authority of matrons in charge.

At the head of the military nurses is Miss Becher, a brilliant organiser, who was one of the picked nurses sent out under Queen Alexandra's personal instructions to South Africa. She has now her own office at the War Office, where, with the aid of a very capable assistant, Miss Macarthy, she has control of the whole organisation known as Queen Alexandra's Imperial Nursing Service, and the entire care of the nursing service of the army. The Imperial Nurses are in charge of the military hospitals, and they are the first to be moved to the front in time of war; while Princess Christian's Nursing Reserve is called up next. Princess Christian's Nurses are scattered throughout the general hospitals of the United Kingdom. They hold first-class certificates, and it will be remembered were called out during the South African War. Another service which it is expected will play during the next few weeks or months a much more important part than it has done in any previous war, is under the direction of the Admiralty, Queen Alexandra's Royal Naval Nursing Service.

The offices of the British Red Cross Society began their preparations before there was a word of England's mobilisation, and a series of nursing units numbering over a thousand persons were ready to start off immediately to any part of Europe if their services were required by any foreign nation. Since then the work of the Society has increased enormously, and it has decided to co-operate with the Navy League. It will direct operations from its new headquarters at Devonshire House.

The first call is for fully trained nurses, and among the hundreds who have responded are many who have held high positions in all our public hospitals, or served through at least one war. The Red Cross especially invites the help of those nurses who can speak two foreign languages, for they are liable at any moment to be sent abroad. The Navy League intends its work to be confined chiefly to Great Britain; its nurses are requisitioned for service in connection with the British Fleet, and the idea is that wherever a naval engagement may take place, a contingent of nurses and assistants may be in readiness at the nearest port. In this work the help of amateur volunteers is being welcomed.

Factory Girls as Nurses

The newspapers tell us that when Yarmouth made preparations to receive the wounded a hundred girls from one factory alone were enlisted as nurses and hospital assistants, and there is no doubt the example of Yarmouth will be eagerly followed in all parts of the country.

The Navy League is making arrangements for those volunteers who have had no training to attend ambulance lectures in various parts of London. A visitor to the Regent Street Polytechnic last Friday found three lecture halls crowded with students whom the experienced staff declared to be of an unusually efficient type, and in one of the three rooms Dr. Cantlie, the man who came to the help of Sun Yat Sen in his time of peril, was giving a first-aid lecture that was almost uncanny in its cleverness and humour.

A Preliminary Course

Ten lectures with ten practical practisings and several open-air demonstrations afford sufficiently little opportunity for getting the necessary knowledge, but they provide at least a foundation and give the students a degree of confidence that will have a steadying effect in any emergency, while, of course, many of those who attend the lectures have already a good grounding in first-aid. The large London shops are sending big contingents of girls to these lectures. Some of the students will no doubt be called on to go far afield, and those who do will—it is necessary to remember this—be considerably out of pocket, for though they will be lodged, they will have to pay travelling and incidental expenses. All students, as soon as trained, are being asked to report to the nearest Red Cross Centre, which will probably be the municipal buildings, and they will then hold themselves in readiness to serve as soon as occasion arises. No doubt hundreds of them will have to put their training to practical use, and the next few weeks may find them serving in the public buildings or warehouses which are being hastily equipped as hospitals.

Women will be called upon and will make great sacrifices for their country in its hour of need. It is up to the men of the country to see to it that they recognise the comradeship of their women by enrolling them as full citizens at the earliest possible opportunity.

NEW BOOKS

ON THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

The Woman Worker as Heroine

The popular heroine of contemporary fiction is, naturally enough, the woman who is trying to be free. Under one guise or another she recurs in novel after novel, but we find her most frequently as the woman who works, the woman who has broken away from home ties, either from necessity or choice, and is making what success of it she may, in the face of a conventional code that says she ought really to stay at home and be kept by somebody else. The rather tiresome characteristic common to most writers of this class of fiction is their insistence on the point that women who keep themselves do not find the process so thrilling as to rob them of all desire for other and more emotional interests. But, of course, they do not! No more do men, or the world would indeed cease to go round.

To do Mr. Arthur Applin justice, he does admit in his very clever novel, "Shop Girls,"* that men and women are alike human beings in this respect. Indeed, despite the title of his book, he sets out to show not so much the struggle of woman to balance commercialism against emotion as the struggle of the normal man and woman to fight together against the commercialism which threatens to swamp them both in the struggle for existence. It is not only the woman Martha in "Shop Girls" who struggles and fails in her effort to save her soul alive; the man Brown makes the same struggle and meets with the same failure, and we are grateful to Mr. Applin for avoiding at least the error of so many novelists—that it is only women who cannot live without the love of and for their fellow creatures. But, as a matter of fact, the career of Martha is not the main theme of his book, which rather tends to show how men and women can equally be crushed out of all human likeness by great commercial undertakings which seek to make them into so many cogs and screws of a great machine; and the character study of Lobb, the man who works the machine, and the working of his gigantic scheme for regenerating the world, form the real substance of the story.

The Women Alone

"The Woman Alone,"† by Marie Harrison, is an unsatisfying book. We think the fault arises from the fallacy in it that a good idea necessarily makes a good novel, which, of course, is not tenable. The idea in this case, that a woman who craves for maternity, but not for marriage, has a perfect right to bear a child and retain her single state and her professional career, is full of possibilities, and may, indeed, suggest a solution of much that seems insoluble in the present fight of women for freedom of action. But it is an idea that demands perfection of treatment, and we doubt if the novel is the best medium for its presentment. In "The Woman Alone" it certainly remains crude and unconvincing, and the obvious problems—the lack of fatherhood in its life and what the child will have to say about it when it grows up, and so on—are necessarily unsolved in a novel that ends before the baby is old enough to speak. As regards the rest of the book, it would somewhat restore its balance if at least one of the women workers in it were satisfied with her lot. Dorothy Mann comes nearest to such a woman, but she does not convince us that her happiness, or the success of her unconventional marriage, even approaches being complete. Margaret Ellis expresses the tone of the book in her confession:—

"But I feel sometimes I'd like—well, I'd like a man to make a fuss of me—and probably a fool of me"—bitterly. "It's the old primitive instinct, I suppose. We women are silly to want to eat and keep our cake at one and the same time. We can't have freedom, economic independence, and affection as well in our present stage of evolution. It's a question of choosing which is better."

This is all very well, as showing one phase of an absorbingly interesting question. But it is only one phase, and we should like to have had the other side presented as fairly in Marie Harrison's novel.

Both sides of the question are certainly placed before the reader in an original fashion by Inez Haynes Gillmore in a novel that is half fantasy and half romance. "Angel Island"§ is a story of five shipwrecked Americans of various temperaments, who find themselves on a Pacific island of which the only other inhabitants are five winged women. All the stages of civilisation are evident in the five men—from the frank libertine Ralph Addington, who has no sense of honour as regards women, but is tolerated by men because he does not cheat at cards or violate in any other way their own code of conduct, to Frank Merrill, who begins by studying the winged women as scientific specimens, and ends in being their one champion when they become rebels. Equally in the five women are seen five stages of development of the woman who is struggling to be free. There is the domestic Lulu, who says admiringly when her husband tells her God never meant women to fly: "It is wonderful how men know exactly what God intended." And there is the intellectual Julia, the last to give in and marry her man, who says once:—

"There is a thing which always bothers me in conversation with the men. They talk about us as if they knew all about us. You'd think they'd invented us."

And between these two extremes are three other women all representing types familiar to students of humanity. The story of the capture of the women by the men, of the shearing of their wings, of their secret longing to fly, of their successful rebellion when one of them learns that her husband intends to cut her little girl's wings when she grows up "because God never intended women to fly"—all this is in form fantasy, and even allegory. But the author tells it in so racy and humorous a fashion as to make it seem like a chapter out of the woman's movement that is going on in the civilised world of to-day. And not the least merit of the book is its fairness, the way that human foibles are laughed at and human qualities extolled because they are human, and not because they belong to men or to women. "Angel Island" is a distinctly original and very readable story.

* "Shop Girls." By Arthur Applin. (London: Mills and Boon. Price 6s.)

† "The Woman Alone." By Marie Harrison. (London: Holden and Holdingham. Price 6s.)

§ "Angel Island." By Inez Haynes Gillmore. (London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 6s.)

A WOMAN FARMER*

This is a fascinating account of a woman farmer's experiences on a small holding in Canada, of peculiar interest as showing what life under those conditions really means to a woman possessing intellect and culture as well as the necessary "grit" and energy. The woman farmer in Canada is not favoured by Government. On the contrary, whilst men can claim a Government grant of land, women have to buy every acre. The object is to get men to settle and make homes on the prairie. To do this they need wives who are to produce children and do the household chores. "Women," said the Deputy Minister (interviewed by the author in her attempt to obtain grants of land for women), "women are already averse to marriage, and if they have opportunities of making successful careers as farmers, they would be more independent than ever." This, as Miss Binnie-Clark observed, is really flattering to the women's success in farming, if unpromising for the race in Canada. Of course, women who buy land are by no means exempt from taxes, that goes without saying.

The Canadian women, bitter over this injustice, which is a poor return for the splendid work done by them during the last hundred years, the "spade-work in the expansion of Canada," are agitating in the matter of Homesteads for Women. The author gives her experiences on the small holding which she bought near Fort Qu'appelle. She tells of seed-time, harvest, the way wheat is valued and sold, the cost of implements and wages, the ways of "chore-boys," of prairie storms and prairie fires—in short, a vivid picture of a settler's life. She loves the beauties of Canada, its delicious, invigorating air, loves her animals, meets life at all points with sympathy and understanding. Her many disappointments are bravely met, and she enjoys everything, winter frosts as well as spring flowers, walks and rides across country. In winter, if funds are low, she goes to the city and makes money by journalism; in harvest-time she cooks solid hot meals for the men. Of such stuff are the best pioneers.

Old-fashioned Ideas of Women

One would think that Canada or any colony would welcome such a settler with open arms as a valuable asset. Such a settler forms a centre, radiating wholesome energy, intelligence, sympathy, the best the old world has to give. But the official mind, even in a new country, runs in a groove, and does not approve of the independent woman, however capable she may be. Man must be the landowner. As regards woman, "She can't," was the Deputy Minister's argument. In spite of the crushing handicap on women farmers, the author made her farm pay. She calculates that on a holding of 360 acres a profit of £500 a year may be made "in time." On the whole she thinks that woman—the right kind of woman, that is—may do much worse than try farming in Canada. Claiming an intimate knowledge of the life of the educated working-woman in Germany, Paris, and England, "in a world governed by laws made by men for men, where there is but the scantiest justice and scant wages for the labour of women," she says:—

I met women forced by circumstance into business or industrial life, the monotony and routine of which starved those very faculties which would have found full scope in the care of grateful animals and the varied labours on the land, and, having arrived myself at the place where I knew how to succeed, through having learned what to avoid, in farming on the prairie, it seemed to me that . . . others would make a gate if they once realised that what men had done for themselves in agricultural pursuits on the prairie, women could also do for themselves. Woman can earn for herself independence and in time wealth. The minimum sum of independence I defined then, as now, in the sum of £5,000, and I consider that a woman should be able to command that amount after twenty years' work on the land.

Miss Binnie-Clark realises that the key to woman's independence is an economic one:—

The solid argument which delays equal suffrage is the fact that man has the full force of wealth on his side of the scales.

A very helpful feature of the book is its lucid statement of prices, costs, wages, &c., and intending colonists cannot do better than study its pages of vivid description, which convey so much solid information on the whole scheme of colonial life. There is much to fascinate in the life for those who are fitted for it, but fitness implies many things. First and foremost health, strength, energy, and courage; resourcefulness and common-sense. One must not be afraid of cold or loneliness, two great bugbears of the life. The author adds as essentials:—

A commercial instinct and a true vocation for life on the land, an innate love and understanding of animal and vegetable life.

The excellent photographs of places and people are another interesting feature of the book, which is as invigorating as a breath of fresh air. M. H.

* "Wheat and Women." By Georgina Binnie-Clark. (London: William Heinemann. Price 6s.)

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THE ENGLISHWOMAN*

Of specific interest to women is an article by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, "Our Balance Sheet," giving a résumé of the political situation in which Woman's Suffrage finds itself at present—*i.e.*, up to the end of July. The outlook is encouraging: increased support in England and a growing international movement. In view of the latter fact a short summary of the movement in Denmark and an interesting account of the wise treatment of "The Unmarried Mother in France" are good reading. There is also a brief notice of the Baroness von Suttner by Miss Rosika Schwimmer, an article on the "Art of Professor Reinhardt," the usual Notes and Reviews.

LAUGHING LYRICS†

This small volume of verse is characterised chiefly by a humorous turn; the titles sufficiently indicate their scope: "The Summer Girl," "The Banana Man," "The Last Bathing Machine." In more serious vein are "Pain," "To the God of the Shore," but lacking originality and distinction. Some of the first-named may be suitable for recitation.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Martyr of Love." By Claude Ferval. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 16s. net.)

"Choice." By Mary Samuel Daniel. (London: Burns and Oates. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The House on Wheels." By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, M.B. (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd. Price 2s. net.)

"Voices of Womanhood." By Ethel Carnie. (London: Headley Bros. Price 2s. net.)

"The Englishwoman." August. (London: Evans Bros. Price 1s. net.)

* "The Englishwoman." August, 1914. (London: Evans Brothers. Price 1s.)

† "Laughing Lyrics and Others." By Atwyth Eversley. (London: Heath, Cranton, and Ouseley. Price 1s. net.)

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1914.

SOLDIER & HAUSFRAU

This war marks the rising to its height of the wave of solely male-made civilisation. That wave is breaking now in havoc and ruin. But behind that ruin there is the promise of a new epoch.

Ever since the beginning of the Napoleonic era—that is, roughly, for over a century—the idea of male government has been steadily intensifying and developing as a dominating force of social and political organisation, although, during the last decade, it has encountered the young and emerging spiritual ideal expressed in the world-wide Woman's Movement. The idea of the nineteenth century—that of the rights of men as males—gave to the whole western world its Parliaments, and to men successive acts of enfranchisement.

But, owing to the exclusion of women from the newly won kingdom of political rights, the human family became more and more divided, by a sharp line of cleavage, into two sections—the dominant male and the subjected female classes. Women as a class came to occupy more generally than before in the thoughts of politicians the status of collective human property. Citizens of the organised State being men, men only were deemed responsible for the well-being of their country; and they alone were answerable for its aggrandisement and its defence.

Amongst the nations of the western world, this dualist idea has attained its maximum political and social development in Prussian Germany, where the man fulfils, as a soldier, the highest national ideal for his sex, and the woman is valued almost exclusively as the *hausfrau*. In spite of the high educational standard for German girls, and the recent development of independence and character in German women, there is no great European nation where women's intellectual influence and women's essential ideas are more completely at a discount in the sphere of government. Further, there is no great nation in Europe where the male conception of racial welfare is less tempered by the perceptions of the mothers of the people; no nation where the standard of national values is fixed so certainly by male opinion alone.

The worship of brute force, the theory that might is right, and that power lends to the powerful a justification for trampling on the weak is common to all countries, and has become more and more shamelessly manifested in recent times. Sensitiveness to points of honour, the practice of ruth or any form of altruism are regarded to-day as signs of weakness. For sharp practice in attaining ends, for successful lying, for astute making and breaking of pledges, no apology is offered nowadays, for of these things rulers in public life are not ashamed; on the contrary, these immoralities are generally considered to be the attributes of "the Superman," who manifests his existence by his capacity to stand above the claims of conscience. This is the toppling over of the male idea, and nowhere has it reached its climax so completely as in Northern Germany, the cradle of the aggressive Powe: that has forced this war upon Europe, and turned a small country, whose neutrality it had sealed with its name, into a slaughter house.

A respect for material aggrandisement out of all proportion to the sense of the value of human life is the mainspring of all diplomacy and all present politics. A passion for dominance at all costs rules the councils of every great State. It is this lust for power which has recklessly plunged the nations of Europe into a sheer dog-fight, where there is nothing of material advantage to be gained, and everything to be lost. It is the anti-climax of male government. It is the end. Whatever the issues of this war may be, the soldier and *hausfrau* principle of civilisation, not in its application to one country alone, but to all progressive States, must in future give place, with its militarism and its servitudes, to another ideal altogether. What will the new conception be? Feminism would offer no securer foundations for a stable civilisation than masculinism has done. Unbalanced by equality, the strength that is in it would run to weakness, and, as in the present case, virtue would degenerate into vice. The new principle must be one of far closer co-operation between men and women than has ever hitherto obtained.

Of this we may be sure. It is not only the map of Europe that will undergo modifications according to the fortunes of war. When the struggle is over we shall find that the charts of public morality and public thought have also changed. Together with the death and destruction of human life and substance, there is being wrought out of this war the death and destruction of an era. With the new era that will take its place, women are profoundly concerned. It is their business to conceive the ideas that will dominate it, and to bring them to the birth. While they work with brain and hands in the sphere of practical amelioration, let them ponder these things in their heart, let them formulate in their soul those thoughts that in due time shall go forth, and becoming incorporated with the best thought of the whole people shall change the face of the earth, and inaugurate a new stage in the development of humanity.

VALEDICTORY

With the publication of the current issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN the present Editors vacate the editorial chair, which they have occupied for close on seven years, and hand over the paper to the editorship and control of the United Suffragists.

This is not the time to recall in detail the events which have taken place in the woman's movement during this period, or even the vicissitudes of the paper itself. It is sufficient to point to the widespread determination of women to-day to secure their due recognition in the community as citizens, and contrast it with the comparatively small agitation which was in existence before. The Editors claim with confidence that this paper has played an important part in this change of public opinion.

The principles which the Editors have set before themselves in the conduct of the paper have been, firstly, to concentrate the energies of women on the attainment of the political weapon of the Parliamentary vote; secondly, to formulate and express the woman's point of view upon questions of the hour; and, thirdly, to arouse and stimulate among women the consciousness of the dignity of their womanhood.

As a newspaper, VOTES FOR WOMEN has endeavoured to give a complete and trustworthy account not merely of the political struggle for enfranchisement in this country, carried on by all the various woman suffrage organisations, but also of the progress of the idea of the equality between the sexes, as exemplified by events in all parts of the globe. The Editors are proud to think that, until this present devastating war shut off the channels of communication, the paper had correspondents and readers in every civilised country of the world.

In taking leave of their readers, the Editors wish to express the pleasure that it has been to them to have the opportunity of laying before them each week their thoughts and hopes and aspirations, and to know that their confidence was appreciated and reciprocated. They believe that, in the hands of the United Suffragists, the paper will continue to preserve the traditions of the past, and will adapt itself to the ever changing conditions of contemporary political activity. They call upon their readers to give to the new Editors the same loyal support and co-operation which they have shown during the past seven years.

WOMEN IN WAR-TIME

II.—Doing Men's Work at Home

By S. D. Shallard

Owing to the absence of so many tramway servants (of Paris), recalled to the colours, it has been necessary to appeal for help to the tramwaymen's families, and the services are being worked by the assistance of the wives and daughters of the absent men.—Press Telegram, August 6.

M. Viviani, Premier of the French Republic, in a public pronouncement addressed to the women of France, has appealed to them to take up the work of the fields and ensure a good harvest whilst their husbands, sons, and brothers are away at the war.—Press Telegram, August 7.

Travellers in the country (Belgium) tell me that though the harvest this year is splendid . . . the workers have gone and the work is stayed. In a three-hours' journey through the richest part of the country not a single male field worker was seen.

The women, however, are acting in heroic fashion, and the good gifts of nature will not be lost.—"Times" correspondent, Brussels, August 10.

In time of war, the part played by the women of a country will usually fall under one of four heads: (a) Fighting in the field or manning the walls of besieged places; (b) helping the men by carrying or serving, or such work as tending the sick and wounded in camp; (c) nursing or assisting in military duties at home; (d) taking up men's ordinary work at home in place of—or more often in addition to—their own, or doing unusual work rendered necessary by the disorganisation of war.

In many respects it is this last enumerated field of women's activities which is most invaluable to a nation at war, and most provocative of interest. Yet it receives least valuation—even among women themselves—and least attention from the nation itself on conclusion of war or from those who compile the national records.

It seems to me that it is such news paragraphs as those quoted above, glanced over casually by the majority of readers, which bring us face to face with the underlying realities of organised society.

War, or no war, man must continue to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. Our ships and guns are but as dangerous toys, our stores of gold but as ashes, without those daily labours of town and country upon which the very existence of the nation depends, and by which alone its armies may be kept in the field.

Yet how many historians, diarists, or writers of memoirs have dreamed of depicting for us the daily industrial life of a people whilst its picked manhood is being drained away for military service? In face of the glamour of war and politics, who troubles to observe and record this silent struggle of a nation to maintain its existence?

A Forgotten Labour

Countless volumes have been devoted avowedly to the "social and economic" development of races, the "domestic history" of peoples, but at the sound of the bugle away gallops the writer to the front, leaving us no wiser as to what is actually happening in the workshops, on the farms, in the homes. We hear of political dissensions, patriotic demonstrations, and a very conscientious writer may mention the widespread poverty and distress, the discontent, the bread riots. We even get an idea that *some* work is being done by learning of thousands of sick and wounded in the hospitals, tended by the devotion of overworked nurses and doctors. But the "economic and social" historian does not tell us whose labour it is that feeds doctors, nurses, and patients alike; who it was tilled the fields, reaped and garnered the grain, milled and carted the flour; or who has been tending the cattle and sheep, mending the fences, clearing the ditches, shoeing the horses, or performing a hundred other labours indispensable to the food supply. It is only from a careless phrase or hint here and there that we realise how these duties have been carried out, at first with the aid of the able-bodied women; then, as fresh levies go forth, mainly by the women; finally, entirely by the women, with such help as the old men and children can give. In the same way the old men and children are somehow or another clothed and shod, the towns and villages kept free of refuse and ashes, the hospital floors washed, herbs gathered and brought in for medicines, linen sheets collected and torn up for bandages, transit managed, even a tramway service maintained—in a word, the national body and soul somehow kept together.

Improvised Looms

During the struggles of Walachia against the Turks in the fourteenth century, it is said that Roumanian women contrived rough looms in the woods, using trees as their corner posts—I believe that the same was also done by American women when the village looms had been destroyed during the War of Independence—and there are many instances of such ingenious devices as shoes made of sacking or woollen rags. Unfortunately, even women writers too often fill their memoirs and correspondence with news "from the front," or rumours and gossip about what kings or generals are doing and saying, neglecting to tell us in so many words what we would much rather have learned, namely, what it is that they themselves were doing day by day. Evidently they have taken it for granted that they should be doing, under almost insuperable difficulties, the work of the men as well as their own; only allowing us by inference to visualise them at this work. A reference to "carting" suggests the fact that there is at least one horse to be fed and groomed, a stable and coach-house to be cleaned, harness to be kept in condition, a cart to be repaired and, perhaps, painted. The question of exchanging some hams for fodder, seed, and salt reveals the fact that pigs have been fed, killed, and salted; also that tilling and sowing are at hand. A reference to a journey undertaken with one or two coins carefully hidden in braided locks tells of marketing to be done under dangerous conditions.

In her "Domestic History of the American Revolution" Mrs. Elizabeth Ellet gives a few, all too rare, glimpses of women's daily life in war-time. The young son of General Slocumb had but just inherited a plantation and married on the strength of it when the war began, and the newly-wed pair were parted almost at once, the young wife—a girl of nineteen!—being left to carry on the plantation. By a visitor she was asked what work she was doing there. "All that a man ever did here," she replied promptly, "except the mauling of rails." (Presumably the making of rails for fencing.) But she had been out one day and split a few of these, so perhaps in the end the rails *were* "mauled," whatever that process may be!

In stories of this war and of the European wars we constantly hear of bands of soldiers, in flight or cut off from their base, being received and sheltered in friendly, or at any rate compassionate, farmhouses, where the women tend them, feed them with cheese, eggs, farm-bread—perhaps a roast fowl or two. Someone, then, had been hard at work ploughing, reaping, tending cattle and poultry, cheese-making, milling, baking, &c.—all in the intervals of sewing, tailoring, tending children—perhaps feeding a baby.

During the American Revolution a number of the young women of Pennsylvania formed themselves into bands of reapers and went round from farm to farm cutting, carting, and garnering the grain. They organised the labour of the old men and children in their aid, and after five or six weeks of ceaseless and energetic toil—being favoured by unusual weather—they succeeded in harvesting practically the whole of the grain of their district. Grain had never before been so successfully carried in so long after ripening.

During this war—which in Canada also meant war between England and France—the women left behind found that among other male duties they had to carry on the guerilla warfare with marauding Indians. Imagine the feelings of a Canadian woman who, returned from marketing, steps out of her canoe in the dark on to the hand of a dead Indian! The next morning she is blowing up the fire and turns to find an Indian standing within the hut. She makes a dash for her rifle, but he is before her. However, even though unarmed, she shows such a menacing front that the marauder retreats hastily, satisfied with his newly-acquired weapon, and the woman, having barricaded her hut, proceeds to blow up the fire.

In this spirit, accepting their situation almost as a matter of course, have women from time immemorial taken up the labours and duties of the able-bodied men of a nation in arms, labouring and struggling in this vital task of preserving the very fabric of society—of keeping the national body and soul together.

WOMEN'S DEFENCE OF LYME REGIS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—It may interest your readers to have an account of the way the women of Lyme Regis, Dorset, defended their town when hard pressed by the Royalists in 1644. A force of 4,500 men marched against the town under the command of Prince Maurice. "The garrison consisting of only 500 men, not a jot dismayed, set up a shout which the enemy answered."

In an old history of Lyme Regis, written by G. Roberts and published in 1823, I find the following account: "The resistance of the townsmen was most obstinate. . . . The townsmen, aware of the approaching struggle, awaited the commencement of hostilities with firmness. Like the followers of Mahomet, they learned to look on death with diminished terror, the more they became inflamed by the powerful vapours of enthusiasm.

"The women, in the heat of conflict, while the work of destruction went rapidly on before their eyes, regardless of danger, carried ammunition to the soldiers, and frequently assisted in keeping the lines. Disguised by means of red cloaks and men's hats, they showed themselves on the works, when the soldiers were worn out with fatigue.

"The besiegers, deceived by this artifice, lay close in their batteries, when otherwise they would have stormed and taken the principal ones in the town's defence. Their determined zeal and resolute perseverance during the severest privations have caused a comparison to be drawn between them and the celebrated Jean d'Arc." Their numerous feats are recorded by James Strong, in his "Joanereidos, or Feminine Valour; eminently discovered in West Country Women at the Siege of Lyme, 1644." The poem consists of more than 200 lines. It was reprinted in 1674, with additions, laughable notes, &c.

In the prologue are the following lines:—

"Who could see, &c.,
A garrison in part defended
By women, till the quarrel's ended,
And worn-out men to be supply'd
By second strength of women try'd,
And not acknowledge that 'tis true?
I give west women what is due."

One woman is said to have fired at one attack sixteen muskets. A maid, who had one of her hands cut off in the confusion attending the fight, being asked what course she would now take to live—"Truly," said she, "I am glad with all my heart that I had a hand to lose for Jesus Christ, for whose cause I am willing to lose not only my other hand, but my life also." Vicars, who records this, exclaims: "A sweet and most saint-like speech indeed! Such admirable courage it pleased the Lord to infuse into the hearts of all the inhabitants during all the time of that long and sharp siege."

The following lines were written at the same time by a cavalier, who mocks the achievements of the women and their poetical admirer:—

"Alas! who now keepes Lyme? Poore female cattel
Who wake all night, labour all day in battel;
Geese, as a man may call them, who do hisse
Against the opposers of their countrie's blisse,
And by their seasonable noyse discover
Our foes, when they the workes are climbing over.
And shall such acts as these forgotten die
Unrecommended to posteritie?
No, whilst I have a Muse that can afford
One verse, their names shall stand upon record;
Nor shall the cankred tooth of envious Time
Devoure the storie of besieged Lyme."

—Yours, &c.,

Annie Budgett.

The Grove, Lyme Regis.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Report and Financial Statement

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship in Great Britain and Ireland becomes merged next week in the Society of United Suffragists. A brief history and record of its work will be of interest to readers of the paper.

It was on November 1, 1912, that the suggestion of a VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship was first made by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in the paper of that date. The idea was taken up immediately, and the first subscriptions were sent in by return of post. The object of the Fellowship was to bring into touch and inter-communication the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN in Great Britain and in all parts of the world where those readers are scattered, and to secure their organised co-operation in the great enterprise of establishing a feminist paper on broad lines, a paper that would give expression to the awakened and militant spirit of womanhood all over the world. To use the paper as a means of propaganda and a method of instructing and converting the public, and thus to build up a great body of public support for the Woman's Movement—this has always been the practical aim of the Fellowship. During the two years of its existence that aim has been well attained.

Securing a Display of Posters

Round this objective many activities have centred. A system of securing posters all over the country by payment or arrangement, and also by following up the contracts by regular inspection, was one of the first developments. Then followed organised efforts as opportunity occurred to reach various sections of the community. Facts or articles which conveyed a special appeal to Parliamentary representatives, to the legal profession, to the clergy, to doctors or teachers, or clerks, or municipal officers, or others, have been specially circulated by the combined efforts of the Fellows. and in this way the influence of VOTES FOR WOMEN has been extended far and wide. Groups of Fellows have combined to sell the paper outside meetings and in the streets. Firms advertising in the paper have been conscientiously dealt with in preference to others. The Editors have had all the help and encouragement that comes from a corporate sense of possession and responsibility on the part of the readers banded together in mutual service.

Many meetings have been held under the auspices of the Fellowship both in London and throughout the country. Men and women hitherto unconnected with the suffrage movement have come forward as speakers or as confessed supporters on the platform. The Press boycott has been notably broken down in many cases and full reports have been given in the local papers. In every way the great Woman's Movement throughout the country has been strengthened.

In course of time an organisation called the United Suffragists sprang into being, founded on the same principles as those underlying the policy of VOTES FOR WOMEN as a paper. This organisation welcomes the co-operation of men and women on equal terms, it opposes the Government, it is actively militant, and carries on a vigorous campaign of protest against the Ministers of the present Cabinet by demonstrations, deputations, heckling at public meetings, and follows the advice of Sir Henry Compbell Bannerman to "keep on pestering." While pursuing its activities, it deprecates criticism of other societies as grossly unpolitical and unwise, and meets every expression of opposition to revolutionary action by putting the responsibility on the Government who have incited and provoked it.

It was felt that the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN could help the growth of this organisation, and the organisation in turn would greatly assist the paper if the two forces could unite and could work together to strengthen the great middle party of Suffragists that is growing up to occupy the wide field that separates the revolutionary party from the party of pure propaganda.

VOTES FOR WOMEN becomes next week the official organ of the United Suffragists, into which Society the British section of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will at the same time become merged. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has become a member of the United Suffragists Committee, and will still carry on her interest in the paper and her work as Hon. Sec. of the International VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. For English-speaking people all over the world have a special work to accomplish for the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, which has a universal message, even while they are unable to belong to any specific organisation operating in a country not their own.

In presenting the subjoined Report and closing the account of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship of Great Britain and Ireland, the Editors tender their hearty thanks to all those who have co-operated so successfully with them, and invite them to continue and increase their support of the paper in its new developments.

Cash Statement, November 1st, 1912, to July 31st, 1914

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Donations and other Receipts ..... (Acknowledged together with Dublin Strikers' Fund, £14 13s. 6d., and Cruelty Case Fund, £6 11s., in weekly lists in VOTES FOR WOMEN, making a total list of £2,209 1s. 1d.)		2,187 16 7
„ Realisation— Furniture, Literature, Stock, &c.		27 7 2
DISTINCT ACCOUNTS.		
To Lansbury Election Fund— Receipts	363 5 0	
Less amount paid over..	363 5 0	
To Cruelty Case Fund*— Receipts	6 11 0	
Less amount paid over..	6 11 0	
		2,215 3 9

PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Meetings, &c.—		
Hire of Halls	99 4 0	
Advertising	19 2 3	
Printing and Sundry Expenses	72 15 1	
		191 1 4
„ Posters (paid locally)		11 13 4
„ Purchases—Literature, &c.		193 0 10
„ Salaries	309 8 0	
„ Rent, Lighting, Heating and Cleaning	103 17 0	
„ Office Furniture and Fittings	46 17 1	
„ Workers' Expenses—Paper selling, &c.	12 0 8	
„ Membership Token Badges	9 0 0	
„ Stationery	92 17 0	
„ Postage and Telegrams....	168 2 2	
„ General Office and Sundry Expenses	80 8 5	
		822 10 4
„ Donations to VOTES FOR WOMEN		996 17 11
		2,215 3 9

The above Account has been audited by us and we certify it correct.

SAYERS and WESSON, Chartered Accountants.

19, Hanover Square, London, W., August 8, 1914.

* This amount does not include the items paid direct to Miss Neal.

ESSEX

A dark night, a cold air, muddy lanes. The lamps of the motor came flashing through the darkness, mile after mile; in the village towards which it sped men were gathered in or about the public-houses, talking of the coming of the Suffragettes. They didn't want them, not they, but they would go to the meeting; it would be a bit of fun, and fun in that district of hard work and small pay was not too plentiful. They trooped into the school-house, curious, defiant, hostile, and all through the meeting the hostility was there—held in check, somewhat abashed—for the "wild women" of the newspapers, who would have provoked a definite outbreak, had given place to women, quiet, of sober speech, with hair not flying loose, but kempt and bound. Interruptions there were, and one man, a man with intelligent eyes, kept up a running fire of them. Hostile when the women came, doubtful, somewhat sullen, when they went, that was the attitude; disturbed these Essex labourers had been in their sleep of apathy and did not welcome the disturbance. Would they just turn over and go to sleep again? In the audience was hardly a woman. The women had left "them Suffragettes" to the men.

* * * * * * * *

A summer evening. No light streamed forth from the lamps of the car, for light was in all the sky and lay upon the fields and gardens and on the open space where the people stood, men and women, with upturned faces, listening. Sleep is not for the day, and it was daylight, and men and women were awake. The slave dream had been broken; the desire for liberty was alive; they refused to work any longer for a starvation wage. The strike leaders were speaking and the women in the car waited. One of them, leaning over the side of it, met the glance of the man who in the winter had interrupted all the time.

"I know you, I think," she said.

He came forward, close to her. "Yes, and I ain't going to insult you any more. I'm all for the Suffragettes, now. We want more of 'em."

He spoke for himself, he spoke for all; in the Suffrage meeting that followed the strike meeting was no sign of hostility. Men and women, for there were many women this evening, listened with eagerness, with sympathy, with understanding. That was the meaning of the change—they understood; and they wanted to understand still more, to know. The speaker from London gave them what they wanted, gave them knowledge, told them truths, moved them now to laughter, now to indignation, now to resolve. It was with cheers that the car sped on its way, and cries of "Come again!" and handshakes.

It sped on its way, that night, and following nights, to other villages in that area of strike, and everywhere the cheers went up as it came, and rang out again as it went, with calls to come back, and cries of "No surrender!" And the streams of feeling, of resolve to gain their own freedom, of sympathy with women who were fighting for theirs, grew and widened and converged into a sea.

They Understood Now

It was a sea of faces; a sea, for there were thousands of them, gathered together in an open space upon a height, and the woman who had drawn them there from miles and miles around was a woman who stood first and foremost for the freedom of women, then for the freedom and the consolidation of all workers, men and women alike. A girl, not long out of prison, a girl who had braved the hunger strike nine times—and Essex strikers know something of what hunger means; a girl who had fought the Prime Minister of England with the weapon of her own life laid down, to be taken or given back, on the steps of the House of Commons, and beaten him by unflinching determination. She stood on the back seat of the car and spoke of all that was to be striven against and of how to strive, and there were no interruptions, there was no hostility, only a heaving of that living sea, and the sense of a running tide. It flowed, that tide, the flesh and blood of it, before and after her, as the car went down, at walking pace, between the hedges; it held out hands to touch her hands, and it cheered and called and sang.

When she was gone the flesh and blood of it went back, in waves and streamlets, to its sources, to come forth again and again to the lesser meetings, each time with better understanding, keener resolve, greater sympathy with women and their movement. And the spirit of it, the tide that sweeps through the affairs of men, is flowing on, steady, strong, towards liberty. For in Essex, in the places where the strike was, men and women are awake.

G. Colmore.

RELEASE OF SUFFRAGISTS

Mr. McKenna's Wise Decision Received with Universal Approval

In response to widespread representation on the part of men and women of all shades of opinion, Mr. McKenna has announced the unconditional release of all suffragist prisoners.

We print below the text of Mr. McKenna's replies in the House of Commons on Friday and Monday last, and the comments of the Press thereon. It is noteworthy that prior to the final announcement, in addition to the representations made by ourselves, the *Manchester Guardian* published a strong leading article on the subject, and Mr. Nevinson, who had recently returned from Germany, pointed out that the Kaiser had already released all political prisoners in Germany, and urged the same course on the British Government. A special meeting of suffragists and anti-suffragists in the Dome at Brighton took the same line.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

On August 7, in the House of Commons, Mr. Touche asked the Home Secretary whether, in view of the calamity of war, the political truce, and the sacrifices which all members of the community are called upon to make, he will consider, as an act of clemency, the expediency of advising the liberation of all prisoners undergoing sentences for offences prompted by a desire to further a political cause and not involving moral turpitude.

Mr. McKenna: I shall be glad to advise the remission of the sentence of any of these prisoners who will undertake not to commit further crimes or outrages.

On August 10 Mr. Frederick Whyte: May I ask the Home Secretary whether he has taken any steps for the release of women suffragists who are now undergoing terms of imprisonment in this country?

Mr. McKenna: I have advised His Majesty to remit the remainder of the sentences of all persons now undergoing terms of imprisonment for crimes connected with the suffrage agitation. This course has been taken without solicitation on their part, and without requiring any undertaking from them. I have also advised His Majesty to remit the sentences of all persons convicted of assaults, and other offences, in connection with recent strikes. His Majesty is confident that the prisoners of both classes will respond to the feelings of their countrymen and countrywomen in this time of emergency, and that they may be trusted not to stain the causes they have at heart by any further crime or disorder.

Mr. Dundas White: May I ask the Secretary for Scotland if he can make any similar statement as regards Scotland?

Mr. McKinnon Wood: Yes, sir, I propose to follow the same course as my right hon. friend.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE DAILY HERALD

We congratulate Mr. McKenna and his colleagues on their wisdom in advising the remission of the sentences upon Suffrage prisoners and strikers. It makes more real the suggested bond of union at this hour. It was a necessary step, because the offences could not, in the eyes of thinking men and women, be regarded as crime. Anyone who knew the sincerity and earnestness which animates those concerned looked forward to this step, because these are the people we can least afford to spare.

It was, moreover, a natural step; for people have not been slow, at the very outset of this war, to turn to the women for aid. Let us note, above all, that it has not been aid in the task of destruction. It is essentially constructive work. It is for women to nurse back the wounded to life and strength. It is for women to work that the home which the reservist has lost may not fall in pieces. It is theirs not merely to stand and wait; an important sphere of intellectual activity is assigned to them.

With a swiftness that is truly amazing, the Press turns to acclaim the truly heroic efforts made by women to aid their country in a perilous hour. It no longer paints for us the picture of the domestic toy we were told, until last Tuesday, to look upon as the ideal of womanhood.

It is truly astonishing. Perhaps no more absurd volte face has ever been executed by the English Press. Ten days ago the women were not to be given political freedom because they were militant. To-day they are covered with glory because they spare no effort to second the militancy of men.

To ask the aid of women at a period of national crisis involves two things. It means, in the first place, that we recognise them as part of the nation. It means, in the second place, that their help is a thing worth having. The first point is a recognition of their citizenship, and of that the vote is the one adequate symbol. The second point is a recognition of our stupidity in so long delaying to accept what we now acclaim as a thing of value.

THE DAILY NEWS

We rejoice that the Government have carried into effect a suggestion made in these columns yesterday by Mr. Nevinson. They have resolved to release not only those who are imprisoned for minor offences of a non-political type, but also those who are serving sentences in connection with the woman suffrage movement. This is a wise and humane action which will give general satisfaction. The amnesty, we hope, will mark the end of an unhappy chapter in our history. Militancy had a certain value in the early stages of the movement, but that value was soon exhausted, and it has long been recognised as the worst enemy of the cause. We may hope that with the rapprochement initiated by the Government the woman suffrage movement will be restored to constitutional lines. If that is done there is little doubt that indirectly the tragedy in which we are involved will have contributed substantially to the triumph of a cause which, left to the processes of reason and persuasion, cannot fail of success.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

Generosity has a curious place of its own in politics. We all go on for years practising very little of it, and then some accident or calamity thrills and stirs our slow minds, and we suddenly see that generosity is the only true practical wisdom. Yesterday the Home Secretary announced that the amnesty, for which we have pleaded here, had been granted to all the militant suffragist prisoners, and also to all persons imprisoned for offences arising from strikes. The prisoners had not asked for the amnesty, and the Government has not asked them for any promise to obey the law. That is the way to do it. Acts of grace must be gracious; they must not be bargains. We are perfectly content to leave it to the free will of the released "militants" to decide for themselves whether they will burn our churches while we are in the field against a foreign Power. It is as safe as it is to leave it to the honour of Irish Nationalists to settle whether they would receive a German landing party with open arms. It is always safe, at a crisis, to trust to the inherent decency of large bodies of civilised men or women—some individuals may fail, but not the net balance of reason and conscience when all their characters and brains are pooled. At moments of extraordinary stimulation like this, even the most cynical has a vision of the reality and importance of these truths. They ought, no doubt, to be commonplaces. In the minds of a few statesmen of rare insight they probably are, and they astonish us with the successes they achieve by acting upon them, simply and boldly. They win the heart of a Canada or a South Africa, and it seems like a miracle. But at some thrilling moments even ordinary men can see the way to do miracles, and, whatever happens now, neither the Irish question nor the suffrage question can ever be quite reimmersed in its old savage bitterness again.

OPEN THE GALLERIES

The Home Secretary announced yesterday that all persons now in prison for crimes connected with the recent strikes and with the woman suffrage movement are to be immediately set free. If that can be done, and Mr. McKenna expressed his Majesty's confidence that it could be done without danger to property or order and without any stipulations being either asked for or given on one side or the other, it surely follows that the time has come when the art galleries, museums, and palaces, long closed as a precaution against the Suffragettes, can be safely reopened. At such an hour as this no appeal ought to be necessary to any section of the King's subjects to sink all minor issues and devote themselves to the cause of the nation.—**The Daily Mail, Aug. 11.**

DEMAND FOR AMNESTY

At a meeting held in "The Dome," the largest public building in Brighton, on August 4, 1914, under the auspices of the "Brighton and Hove Humanitarian Society," the following resolution was passed with only two dissentients, by the whole audience, representing not only those in sympathy with, but also those condemning militancy, those in favour of, and those opposing the extension of the franchise to women, and all political parties:—

"That, in view of the disaster of war now facing the nation, we demand that the Government shall without delay make peace with the women of the nation, and, as a first step, grant an immediate amnesty to all prisoners connected with the suffrage movement.

"(Signed) H. G. Massingham,
"Chairman."

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Six Weeks for Indecent Assault

The *Irish Worker* of July 18 reports two cases of indecent assault on girls under sixteen punished in each case by sentences of six weeks' imprisonment with hard labour. The first was that of a married man, Herbert Jones, whose offence was committed on a little girl of eight years in a garden. The offence was established by the evidence of the child and of a neighbour whose window overlooked the garden. The Recorder passed sentence. The second case was that of a young man, Patrick Lynch, and the offence was committed in the gallery of the Tivoli Theatre.

One Month for Brutality to a Baby

The *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* of July 30 reports the case of a miner, Thomas Leather Baxter, charged with cruelty to a little baby girl of two years, the daughter of his wife. Evidence showed that because the child was fractious in the night the man struck her eight or nine blows on the face, which dazed her. The child bore the marks of cruelty on her plainly visible in the court next day. He was committed to prison for a month.

Fine for Selling Diseased Meat

The *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* of July 23 reports the case of two butchers convicted of knowingly exposing tuberculous meat for sale. The prisoners had adopted special means for killing the animal, alleging that it was for kennel food. The magistrates at the Barnsley Borough Court imposed a fine of £10 each, with the alternative of two months' imprisonment.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Fifteen Months for Obtaining Money

The *Liverpool Weekly Mercury* of July 25 reports the case of a man, Wilson (alias Captain Ansell), who was sentenced to fifteen months' hard labour for obtaining money on false pretences.

The offences occurred as far back as 1912, but the prisoner had absconded to America, and returned only last month.

In June, 1912, as Captain Ansell, he took offices in High Holborn, trading as the Anglo-American Investment Trust Company for the sale of farms in Canada, and offering great inducements as a reason for investors to part with their incomes.

The accused made a statement in which he said he had served through the South African war, and also in the Mexican war.

At the time of his arrest he was about to lecture on his experience for a music-hall syndicate at a salary of £50 a week.

Six Months for Theft

The *Morning Post* of July 11 reports the case of a commercial traveller sent to prison for six months' hard labour on a conviction for trying to pass a worthless cheque for £2, and for stealing a bag and a pair of spectacles. It was stated that this was only one of several similar attempts at fraud by the prisoner, and that there had been a previous conviction. The sentence of three months for each offence, to run consecutively, was passed at the Westminster Police Court.

Hard Labour for Stealing 6s. 6d.

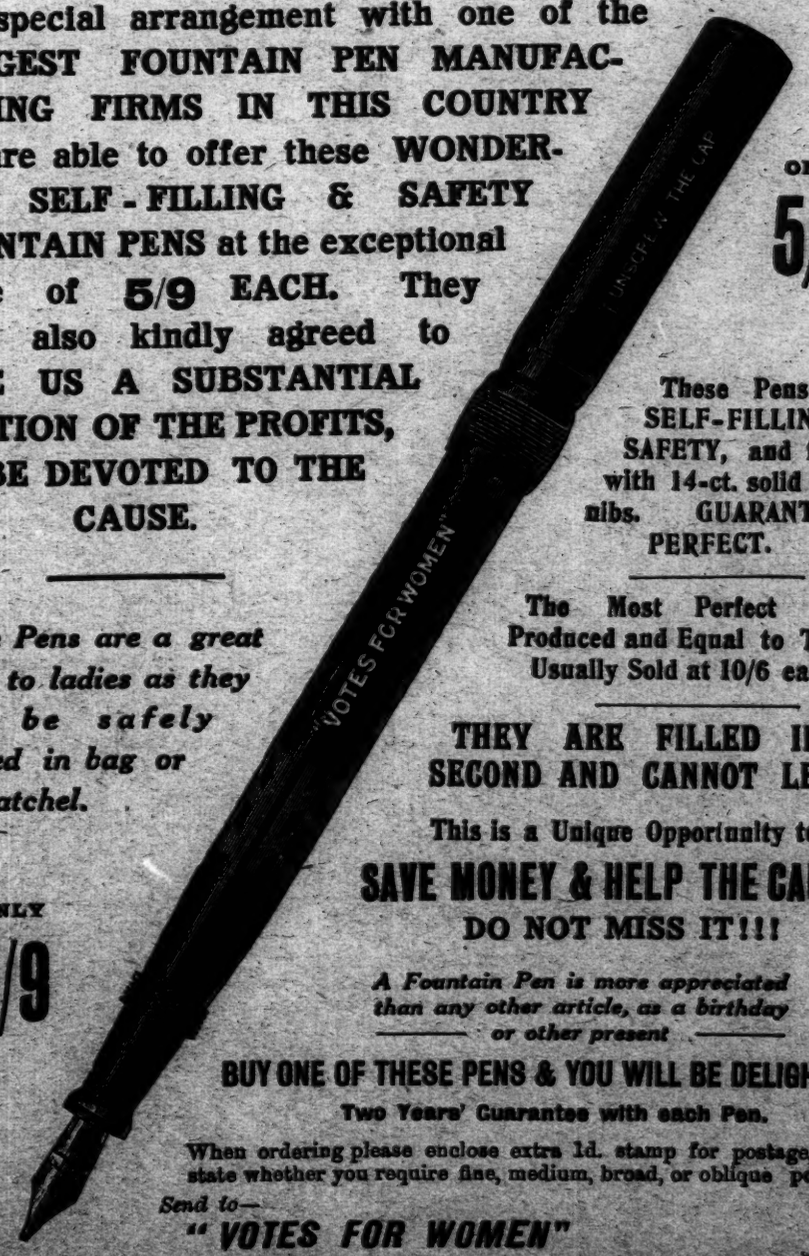
The *Pioneer* (Woolwich) reports the case of a motor fitter charged with stealing from a bedroom a purse containing 6s. 6d. There were no previous convictions, but it was stated that the prisoner had absconded from different lodgings without having paid for his food and lodging. Mr. Hutton, sitting in the Woolwich Police Court, sentenced him to fourteen days' hard labour.

WILL YOU HELP THE CAUSE?

By special arrangement with one of the LARGEST FOUNTAIN PEN MANUFACTURING FIRMS IN THIS COUNTRY we are able to offer these WONDERFUL SELF-FILLING & SAFETY FOUNTAIN PENS at the exceptional price of 5/9 EACH. They have also kindly agreed to GIVE US A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE PROFITS, TO BE DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE.

These Pens are a great boon to ladies as they may be safely carried in bag or satchel.

ONLY **5/9**



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These Pens are SELF-FILLING & SAFETY, and fitted with 14-ct. solid gold nibs. GUARANTEED PERFECT.

The Most Perfect Pens Produced and Equal to Those Usually Sold at 10/6 each.

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

CORRESPONDENCE

A PLEA FOR UNITY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Is it not possible, in the present crisis, for all Suffrage societies to unite their organised forces for the relief of distress amongst the poor? This is bound to be great, through unemployment, the rise in prices, and the absence of many breadwinners who have been called to the service of their country.

Surely no better suffrage propaganda could be shown than such a collaboration, proving that the women of the country are united in patriotism and public spirit, and ready to utilise their excellently working organisations for the urgent need. The women of England have always been not only loyal, but charitable; but they have never before been so extensively and well organised and trained. It is to be hoped that this great opportunity for public service will not be lost by the Suffrage societies.

Suffragists of all shades of opinion may well sink their differences, as has been done by party politicians. The militants, in abandoning militancy at this time, could share in the glory and commendation which has been won by the Irish militants in their patriotic action; and the Suffrage militants may feel sure that they will profit later, as will the Irish militants, who, though willing to make temporary sacrifices for the good of their country, are acting in full consciousness of the fact that by those very sacrifices they are enormously forwarding their own cause.

If a committee were formed representing as many suffrage societies as possible, advertising their aims in the public Press, I feel sure that there would be a tremendous response, which would result in the accomplishment of a very great deal of most useful work.—Yours, &c.,

MARGARET KILROY KENYON.

Lyceum Club, 128, Piccadilly, London, W., August 7.

[Our correspondent will see from the news we are able to publish this week that her proposals are in a large measure being fulfilled.—ED., VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

SHOW YOUR COLOURS!

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN

Dear Editors,—May I suggest that all Suffragists who during the war will be taking part in the relief of distress should wear the colours or badge of their Suffrage organization?—Yours, &c.,

H. HARE.

44, Ladbroke Grove, W., August 8.

THE QUAKER MANIFESTO ON THE WAR

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have just read the Quaker manifesto in the *Daily News*. A Quaker manifesto is in part a woman's manifesto, but would it have been possible for women and men to have penned this one together in the year 1914 without the slightest reference to the gross injustice among us which would make any "kingdom of God" impossible even if there were disarmament and universal "peace"? It is perfectly true that no warfare could be so unchristian as this warfare undertaken by Christian peoples invoking the Christian God; that after two thousand years of "Christianity" we have flown at each other's throats in a way that would have shamed the "Pagan." It is perfectly true that we call Christian what has nothing to do with Christ; but is it to be forgotten that the position of women is the world-wide and supreme instance of the use of force—and the most vicious? That the ousting of the mother from the counsels of nations is at once one of the least Christian elements of our civilisation and the most glaring of possible injustices?

Many of us do by no means agree with the Society of Friends that all use of force is unholy; but surely, surely, that Society of all others should have present to it the anti-civilised force which century after century oppresses the woman. That Society of all others should have taken to heart the truth that the refusal of justice is the supreme act of violence, and provokes violence. It is that act of violence which has been, and is now, going on in our midst, and perhaps British men have never till now gone to war leaving behind them other British men engaged in torturing women whose real crime, as we all know, is simply that they are asking for a fairer position for their sex. "A. G. G.," in the *Daily News*, writes some useful words about a possible final end being set, as a result of this great war, to the condition of things to which a purely male Christendom has brought us—a Europe armed to the teeth. He tells us that the rule of force and the sign of civilisation cannot co-exist; that the world may be civilised or the world may be savage, but the world cannot be both. "Barbarism we may hope is fighting its last battle. It is the biggest battle of all. . . Then the world will be free." Barbarism is not yet fighting its last battle, neither is this "the biggest battle of all," though men, acting without women, may think so. The biggest battle of all is the battle against injustice. If the tyranny of despotisms ceased over nations, the tyranny of the despotisms of sex over motherhood would still exist—and we should not be free.

There is a Quaker Suffrage Society; will it not amend the manifesto issued by the Society of Friends, and help to uphold through this war the truths upon which the attainment of civilisation, and, I make bold to say, of a kingdom of God, really depend?—Yours, &c.,

M. A. R. T.

August 8.

"THE ONE DARK SPOT"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—We must all feel with Sir Edward Grey that the "one bright spot" on the political horizon is the spontaneous and automatic solution of the Irish imbroglio.

But what about the "one dark spot," now all the darker for the fresh prison atrocity reported in your current issue. I cannot hope for success to our arms abroad if we go into the war with this foul stain on our hands.

Surely the Government must be sick of the whole beastly business, and would only be too glad to have it off their hands.

I have written to my member, the Hon. Harold Pearson, and implored him to press for the immediate and *unconditional* pardon and release of all Suffragette prisoners, convicted or unconvicted. Such an act of grace would redouble the popular enthusiasm which supports the Government, and for all women it would be a silver lining to the black thundercloud which now shuts out heaven from our sight. I am writing to Mr. McKenna. But cannot you who are on the spot organize some united effort, either through the Home Secretary, or, better still, by direct petition to the King, which shall bring this about. It should be done at once.—Yours, &c.,

JAMES A. ALDIS.

Minsmere, Dunwich Suffolk August 9.

[As the date shows, the above was written before the announcement made by Mr. McKenna of the release of all Suffragist prisoners. We print the letter, however, as indicative of the representations which were being made to the Home Secretary.]

HUNGARIAN WOMEN IN WAR

In view of the work which women are doing on the field of battle and at home it may be interesting to recall a Bill that was drafted in the Spring in the Hungarian Parliament, but never carried. The preamble set forth that "every Hungarian woman is compelled, in case of war, to render military service, elsewhere than on the field of battle."

Provisions of the Bill

There are, as a matter of course, exceptions to the rule. Members of the Royal Family, nuns, and the mothers of infants in arms, are specifically exempted. All the others, provided that they are not less than thirty or more than forty years of age, are to be called out as required, and to make themselves generally useful in accordance with their several capacities. The principle that one volunteer is worth any number of pressed women is recognised in the stipulation that only volunteers shall serve anywhere near the fighting line; but the rest are to be distributed into five corps of women workers. The first division will work as surgeons, dispensers, and nurses in the hospital; the second division will include not only telephonists, telegraph operators, and typists, but also the chauffeuses of military motor-cars. The third division will mend the soldiers' clothes; the fourth division will prepare the soldiers' food; and the fifth division will be held in reserve, ready to go anywhere and do anything whenever an emergency presents itself. And in order that the ladies may be competent to do these things—failure to do which is to be punishable by fine and imprisonment—they must be trained; and the training must not be optional, but obligatory.

What do they think of it? says the *Times of India*. It appears that at present they are by no means all of one mind in the matter. There are feminists in Hungary who are also Pacifists, and these are throwing up their hands in horror at the threatened extension of the plague of militarism. On the other hand, there are those among them—the Hungarian equivalents of our own militant suffragists—who complain that the measure does not go far enough, or strike as thoroughly as it might at the root of the traditional distinctions between male and female spheres of usefulness. The provision that no married woman shall be allowed to volunteer for any post of special danger without her husband's leave seems to them a ridiculous survival of the age when a wife was her husband's chattel; while they are by no means satisfied with the scheduled particulars of the training.

BELGIAN WOMEN FIGHT

At Herstal, in Belgium, the women employed at the National Arms Factory have been making a noteworthy defence against the German Uhlans.

The men having all been drafted into their regiments, the town was defended against the German attack by the women, who swore that the enemy should never take the factory. They armed themselves with revolvers and other weapons, and repulsed several charges of Uhlans.

When their ammunition was exhausted they barricaded themselves in various houses and poured boiling water on the Germans in the streets. Two thousand Germans were disabled by wounds and scalds. Children and old men shared in the defence, and it was reported in Paris on Friday last that the Belgian colours were still floating over the factory buildings.

AT A STREET CORNER MEETING

SLIGHTLY INEBRIATED MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: "Votes of Women? Of coursh! But *no* Woman Suffrage!"

AMERICAN VISITORS WILL REJOICE

With the release of the suffrage prisoners and the probable suspension of militancy we may expect the re-opening of the picture galleries and museums. This will bring to an end the situation recently described by the *Evening Standard* in the following words:—

"Americans in London are keenly criticising the restrictions which have been introduced owing to suffragette outrages and prevent them from visiting most of the picture galleries and museums. The Embassy in Victoria Street is daily being almost besieged by people anxious to obtain permits, but all have to be sent away disappointed. Special regulations have been framed by the various authorities, and unfortunately many of these are of such a nature that the Embassy is unable to comply with them. Would-be visitors to the National Gallery, for instance, must be accompanied by one of the Embassy secretaries. Were the staff multiplied by sixty there would not be sufficient officials to cope with the demand that would ensue. At the Wallace Collection and the Tate Gallery visitors are admitted if they bear letters from public officials, such as Ambassadors, M.P.s, and judges. The writers must, however, assume all responsibility for the acts of the bearer. It is, of course, impossible for an Ambassador to assume that responsibility in respect of the thousands of visitors from his country.

"The British Museum is far more easily accessible. This is open to men, and also to women if accompanied by men who are willing to vouch for their good behaviour and to take full responsibility. Unaccompanied women are only allowed in on presentation of a letter of introduction from a responsible person vouching for the bearer's good behaviour and accepting responsibility for her acts. The London Museum, Stafford House, is open to anyone who shows a permit, which can be obtained from the authorities."

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

The meeting announced to be held last Sunday in Hyde Park was postponed on account of the unsettled state of affairs, but we hope to continue them, as they have hitherto proved such an enormous success.

The stall at the White City continues to be a source of interest to visitors. The members who will be in charge of it during the week are Miss Edith Carter, Miss Nell Du Maurier, Miss Seyler, Miss Vera Cunningham, Miss Howett, and Miss Janette Steer. Any other members who can help at any time during the rest of August will be most heartily welcomed, as there are many vacant dates to be filled.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN CANADA

Recent developments of the women suffrage movement in the United States have had their effect in Canada, and have stimulated the advocates of equal franchise to renewed activity. Hitherto the propaganda work in the Dominion has been mainly carried on by local societies and organizations more or less independently. The need for correlation and concentration of effort led some time ago to the formation of a National Association, which was duly incorporated.

Owing, however, to dissatisfaction which has been felt in certain quarters, a new national suffrage organization has now been formed, to be known as the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies in Canada.

At the preliminary meeting held in Toronto, representatives from many local societies in Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, and other provinces attended, and the resolution to form a new national union was carried practically by a unanimous vote. The following officers were elected:

Honorary President: Lady Drummond, Montreal.
President: Mrs. L. A. Hamilton, Toronto.
Vice-Presidents: Mrs. Gordon Wright, London; Professor Carrie Derick, Montreal; Dr. Mary Crawford, Winnipeg; and Mrs. Cassin, Ottawa.
Cor. Sec.: Mrs. W. R. Lang, Toronto.
Rec. Sec.: Miss Jessie Melville, Toronto.
Treasurer: Mrs. Campbell MacIver, Toronto.

Steps have also been taken to organize a Provincial Association in Ontario, for the purpose of bringing more pressure to bear on the provincial government and legislature to concede the equal franchise. In this respect the situation in the United States corresponds with that of Canada, the provinces having power over their own voters' lists and their own franchise, also applying to the Federal election. Like the United States, too, the women of Canada have approached the Dominion Government and asked for a nation-wide grant for woman suffrage.

HOW THE LIGHT CAME

The following story comes to us from America:—

"Since the Suffrage Convention met in our town," said a factory worker in a certain county in New York State, "great things have happened in our factory."

"What was that?"

"The morning after the convention when we went to work we found 'Votes for women' written on a window that hadn't been washed for twenty years. The foreman was mad, and he washed it off. The next morning we found 'Votes for women' written in the dust on another window. The foreman was madder than ever, and again washed it off. The third morning when we went to work we found someone had written 'Victory—November, 1915.' The foreman was so furious that he ordered all the windows washed."

"Well, what happened?"

"Then the light streamed in."

WHAT THEY CAN DO!

"Mebbe women ain't smart enuf to vote, but they kin git out a little work without lightin' a pipe or takin' a couple o' drinks."—**Abe Martin.**

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Adult Suffragist,
19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association,
C/o the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union
C/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
4, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes
321, Roman Road, Bow, E.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies
31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Walden, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop,
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice,
22, South Molton Street, W.

Liberal Men's Suffrage Society.
31, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

Liberal Women's Suffrage Union,
Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
Duncton, Petworth, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Woman's Suffrage,
Temp. Address: 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

"Suffrage First" Committee,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Suffrage Service League,
29, Broadway, Westminster.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Theosophical Suffrage Society,
19, Tavistock Square, W.C.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists.
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
Lancashire Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancs.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
22, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Gosohen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

THE EGYPTIAN SUFFRAGETTE

Evidently woman's demand to have a share in her country's administration proportionate to her contribution to its upkeep, which has hitherto been confined to the West, is about to spread to the Orient, says the *Pall Mall Gazette's* Cairo correspondent, quoting the story of a fellah woman in Upper Egypt who applied to be appointed to the post of omdah in her village. She admitted that no peasant woman had ever been appointed omdah before, but based her claim on the fact that she was the richest person in the village, as she paid more taxes than any other landowner in the district.

The committee charged with the selection of omdahs could not in the present state of the law accede to her request, but they so far recognised her position as to appoint her nominee.

"HEADS, I WIN . . ."

My Uncle Wilbur Simpson says
That women are not ever brave;
He says whenever things go wrong
They drop this independent song,
And call for men to save.

Yet when the doctor came to-day
To vaccinate us, great and small,
My Uncle Wilbur ran away,
Whereas, I thought his wife, Aunt May,
Was not afraid at all.

I said: "But don't you think Aunt May
Was brave about her vaccination?"
He frowned and answered, "No, great Scott!
It seems these women haven't got
The least imagination!"

—**New York Tribune.**

NO TRAINS FOR WOMEN!

A humorous American Suffragist, Miss Alice Duer Miller, has been communicating to the *New York Tribune* as many ridiculous reasons why women should not travel in trains as the Anti-Suffragists can find for refusing women the vote.

Here they are:—

1. Because travelling in trains is not a natural right.
2. Because our great grandmothers never asked to travel in trains.
3. Because woman's place is in the home, not in the train.
4. Because it is unnecessary; there is no point reached by a train that cannot be reached on foot.
5. Because it will double the work of conductors, engineers and brakemen, who are already overburdened.
6. Because men smoke and play cards in trains. Is there any reason to believe women will behave better?

TACT

In an enterprising Press notice concerning the publication of a new serial story by Mrs. Humphry Ward dealing with the Suffrage question, we are asked to state that "the attitude of the author on the subject of the vote for women has endeared her to countless numbers of her sex, and made her advocacy a power more formidable than mere violent negation."

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Stafford, March 16th, 1914.
Convent of Poor Clares, Cross Bush, Arundel, 23/2/14.
The MOTHER ABBESS writes: "I consider your work unparalleled."
St. Joseph's, Peasley Cross, St. Helens.
Bro. J. SHANAHAN writes: ". . . am ever so grateful for what you have done for me."
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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s., 1d. per word for every additional word (four insertions for the price of three).

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 11.30, Mrs. Flora Parrier Howard; 7, Miss L. Stacey.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

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IDEAL RESTFUL HOLIDAY during war, under specially favourable conditions. Mansion in beautifully-wooded grounds of several acres near sea; best residential district; lectures, games, &c.; pure varied diet; inclusive terms 1½ to 2 guineas weekly. Send for prospectus.—Mr. and Mrs. Massingham, 17, Norfolk Terrace, Brighton. Lectures by Dr. Haden Guest, Miss Nina Boyle, Rev. Priestley Prime, and others on the Women's Movement.

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PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

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LADY (young) seeks post as Lady-help or Useful Companion, where servant kept; London; or would look after business lady's flat. Capable, strong, domesticated.—Box 588, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

RE-ENGAGEMENT as Working Housekeeper by widow. Vegetarian house preferred. Experienced, reliable; good vegetarian cook; reference.—T. E., 77, Clarendon Road, West Croydon.

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